COMMUNICATIONS.

[THE NEW MATIONAL Ens does not hold itself reriews expressed by correspondents. Wall write restling communications will be gladly received.)

Presentation of a Chapel Bible to Lincoln University by Class 1872, on Class Day, May 30th.

Address by E. S. Feett.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Fuculty: We have now come almost to the goal of our collegiate course. Soon will the curtain drop upon our career as a class in this uni versity. Already our assembling with you in the class-room to solve abstruse problem in the mathematics; to study the classics to unravel the intricacies of the metaphysics and to receive that instruction which teach the way to God, has ended. But the rich ons which tenaciously eling to the imparting of instruction have not, and can not, end. They are too dear to us to be for gotten; too sacred to be sacrificed. . They will, therefore, ever be cherished by ever member of '72.

We still, however, live in hopes.

both houses and became a law:

The Enforcement Act.

The Text of the Amendment as it Finelly

The following is the election amendment to

the sundry civil appropriation bill as it passed

That whenever, in any county or parish, in any Congressional district, there shall be ten citizens thereof of good standing who, prior to any registration of voters for an election for Representatives in Congress, or prior to

any election at which a Representative in Congress is to be voted for, shall make known in writing, to the judge of the circuit court of the United States for the district wherein such

county or parish is situate, their desire to have said registration or election both guard-ed and scrutinized, it shall be the duty of the

ed and scrutinized, it shall be the duty of the said judge of the circuit court, within not less than ten days prior to said registration or election, as the case may be, to open the said court at the most convenient point in said district; and the said court, when so opened by said judge, shall proceed to appoint and commission, from day to day, and from time to time, and under the hand of the said judge, and under the seal of said court, for such election district or voting precinct in said

always open for the transaction of business under this act; and the powers and jurisdic-tion hereby granted and conferred shall be exercised, as well in vacation as in term time

exercised, as well in vacation as in term time, and a judge, sitting at chambers, shall have the same powers and jurisdiction, including the power of keeping order and of punishing any contempt of his authority, as when sit-ting in the court: Provided, That no com-pensation shall be allowed to the supervisors herein authorized to be appointed, except those appointed in cities or towns of twenty

performed. And section thirteen of the act of which this is an amendment shall be con-strued to authorize and require the circuit courts of the United States in said section

this is an amendment. And the words "any person" in section four of the act of May 31, 1870, shall be held to include any officer or

appropriated as may be necessary for said sum herein appropriated as may be necessary for said supplemental and amendatory provisions is hereby appropriated from and after the passage of this act.

WE take the following from the Philadel-

phia Press article on the great convention

neld in that city last week:

T. W. CARDOZO.

Throughout our course, dear sirs, we have been bound to our Alma Mater and to you by the dearest of earthly ties. The relation hich have existed between us have been most sacred. The influences which have emanated from you have been most salutary in forming our character. What words can express these ties? What pen can describe these relations? Who can compute the power of these influences? Oh how powerless the pen to describe them! How inadequate are words to express them! How vain the at tempt to fully delineate them! They car only be felt in the heart : experienced in the soul, and the results seen in the life.

When we came here for the first time many of us were of rough material. Our mind ur developed and untrained, we could not rightly iate the mechanism of our own being We did not know the utility of the arts an sciences; the beauty of literature, and the grandeur of philosophy. But day by day for our long years, here within these halls, we have been led by you over the many obstacles in the scientific world. By your instruc tion we have been induced to cull preciou gems from the boundless regions of thought By your aid we have at last reached the nit of philosophy which terminates ou collegiate course.

When we consider that within a few days we must part from you whom we love and honor; that we must leave these familian halls which have often become vocal with our voices; that we must enter the wide world there to form new associations, there to take upon ourselves new duties and responsibili ties, we desire most earnestly to leave some the deep interest we have in our Alma Mater; of the choicest affections we will ever cherish for you, also as a memorial of the spiritual benefits we have derived from these four years of Christian instruction. Allow me, therefore, in the name of '72, to present through you to the Lincoln University, this book, which has eminently been styled the best of classics; which is the guide to hapess and to God; which is the corner-ston of all true governments; which is the basis of all true science and philosophy, and which you have made the foundation of our educa courts of the United States in said section mentioned to name and appoint, as soon as may be after the passage of this act, the commissioners provided for in said section, in all cases in which such appointments have not wishes of every member of perity of your Alma Materiess of yourselves. May it interest we now have in her interest. tion. Under your instructions we have eate of its richest clusters and drank of its choicest wines, and our soul has been refreshed. Accept this, dear sirs, and with it accept the well wishes of every member o '72 for the prosperity of your Alma Mater keep alive that interest we now have in her nate one or more of the United States to designate one or more of the judges of the district courts within his circuit to discharge the dukeep alive that interest we now have in her after us also drink of its springs and be made whole. And God grant the light you have imparted to us out of this fountain of di truth may be shed forth in the world by us with the good of man and the glory of God. And as our Alma Mater has been consecrated with this glorious end, may her boundaries be extended, her facilities for instruction augmented, her number of student increased, and may she indeed become trument in the hands of God this great work of Christian civilization, and thus fulfill the design of Lincoln University

STUDENT. Letter from Mississippi.

VICKSBURG, June 2, 1872.

To the Editor of the New National Era: We are wounded, we are chagrined, we ar ted, we are betrayed, and that by men held in that city last week:

Hon. Wm. H. Gray, one of the hitherto proscribed race, which formerly have been denied even the privilege in the lower part of the house, ascended the stage and made his bow to the convention. To the strangers and the delegates it was a glad and significant sight—the first appearance of a colored man upon the rostrum in a National Convention of the Republican party—but to us of Philadelphia it was gladder still. Upon that stage, not even Frederick Douglass, the Demosthenes of his people and strongest of all his race, could stand one short year ago. The same privilege had been denied Senator Revels, and even his counterfeit presentment had been heartily hissed thereon, bringing the sharp rejoinder of brave Anna Dickinson who pledged themselves most earnestly to advocate our rights. And we cannot refrain from saying that we are disgusted with the in their profession of love for the negro and advocacy of their rights. The virtual defeat of Mr. Sumper's civil rights bill by the members of our own party, has caused an alarmess in our ranks; and unless something is done as a remedy, we fear the opposition will give us trouble in the approaching campaign. The mass of our Republican voters in the South, though ignorant of the letter, have an instinct of learning all that is the sharp rejoinder of brave Anna Dickinsor that that of his predecessor ought to be pre-sented on the canvas to allow the sibillants going on, and they are aware of every imtant step that is taken in Congress They have all heard of Mr. Sumner's bill, sented on the canvas to allow the sibiliants an opportunity to cheer. Unconscious of all this, but proud and self-reliant, Gray faced his audience and talked to them as an American citizen would to his follows, Once or twice he touched the springs of their enthusiasm with a master hand, making the vast building ring and reverberate with the cheers of his listeners. His allusion to Gerrit Smith—the sight of whom secoid his for all and they have all heard of it being attached to the amnesty bill; and they have heard of possibility of the amnesty bill being without the civil rights bill, except passed without the civil rights bill, except through treachery; and now that such a

through treachery; and now that such a course has been resorted to in order to grant amnesty to rebels, and leave us to the inhuman treatment of these very rebels or their agents, has caused a gap which will be hard to fill up.

We have been asked hundreds of times by the mass of our voters how the civil rights bill was coming on, and we have always given an encouraging reply; but what we shall say now is problematic indeed. We have so often and so repeatedly excused the lukewarmness of our Republican friends that our patience is about being exhausted. To tell our voters that amnesty has been granted to the rebels but our civil rights are postponed, would chill them to such an extend the stage postponed, would chill them to such an extend the stage of his listeners. His allusion to Gerrit Smith—the sight of whom repaid him for all iss sufferings—was among the most touching tributes that any one who stood upon the stage yesterday paid that grand old man. After Mr. Gray came the Hon. R. B. Elliott, of South Carolina, whose stinging rebuke of the Democratic Congressman a year ago is still fresh in the minds of our readers, and last of all James H. Harris, of North Carolina. And now the Committee on Organization made their report. The routine business was resumed and soon finished. Judge Settle is permanent chairman, and his choice gives one, and the convention is adjourned until this morning at ten o'clock, and the vast audience retires. And this was the first day of the National Republican Convention of 1872. extent that they would be inclined to take no part whatever in the election. At present the Republican party has done no more than the Cincinnati concern. The Republicans in Congress declare amnesty and the Cincin-

NEW NATIONAL ERA.

VOL. III.-NO. 23.) WASHINGTON, D. C., THURSDAY, JUNE 13, 1872

nati Convention has done the same. The Republicans in Congress seem to have warded The Laborer's Hope, off civil rights to the negro, and the Cincin-A model strike was that of the masons and A model strike was that of the masons and bricklayers on Monday of last week, for eight hours' work a day instead of ten. They carried their point without a blow or bravado, with the loss of a single day, and without getting any considerable number of bricks in their hats. True they took advantage of their employers' necessities in striking at the busiest of seasons, when plans were made and buildings were under way which could not be stopped on any account. But the nati concern has done the same. No enth siasm can be raised among the colored voters in the approaching campaign from the same source that was worked upon in 1868. That is too stale. It requires something new, something animating; yea, something Then it was reconstruction and the favorable prospect of the fifteenth amendnot be stopped on any account. But the employers showed a magnanimous disposition in complying with a demand which is extreme, and will tell heavily on their receipts in the contracts already made and entered upon. Yet doubtless they acted wisely, and in most instances of the sort the emment; but the arguments on those subjects are how threadbare. Amnesty for rebels can produce no enthusiam in the breast of colored loval voters, especially when they know from their daily intercourse with thes y; and in most instances of the sort the emnen that they scorn the word, and would die without it before asking for it. We are so leeply wounded that it seems hard for our eading men to muster any enthusiasm. There is nothing new upon which they can work. It is true we are ahead of the Cininnati concern, but that does not suffice

tered upon. Yet doubtless they acted wisely; and in most instances of the sort the employers would probably gain more in the end by gracefully yielding to the demand of the laborers, or fairly compromising with them, than by resisting their claims. Good sense and good temper, and a spirit of mutual concession and forbearance, are even more important in the relation of employer and employe than in almost any other.

Their success has led the workmen of other trades to unite in a similar demand, and as we go to press the strike is general. So far it has been characterized by good temper, and an entire absence of the violence and even the threats which usually attend such demonstrations. And it is more than probable that the laborers will win their cause. Indeed their victory is already assured.

All our sympathies are with the laborer. His toils, cares, trials, wants, hopes, and hardships, we thoroughly understand. Anything and everything that can be done to lighten his burden and improve his lot should receive instant attention and advocacy. We have not a particle of patience with the rich and comfortable classes who look down with indifference upon the great rass of workers.

and comfortable classes who look down with indifference upon the great mass of workers, and when asked to lighten their burdens or and when asked to lighten their burdens or increase their pay or improve their conditions, repeat worn out platitudes about self-help and conquering a success. Such a temper is tyrannical, and such talk is impertinence. What the laborer needs is simply justice. All that he can reasonably ask is a fair field and pay for the work he does. All that he insists upon is the common right to his manhood, and the respect and privilege due him as an American citizen. To withhold these is not only to increase his difficulties and imbitter his spirit, but to put the severest posis not only to increase his difficulties and mi-bitter his spirit, but to put the severest pos-sible check upon material progress and social welfare, and dry up the springs of enterprise out of which a great prosperity is to come. The more capital identifies itself with labor, the better for both. The more employers blend their interests with those of their employes, the more harmonious and profitable their relations will be. Indeed, the popular distinction between

and under the seal of said court, for such election district or voting precinct in said Congressional district, as shall, in the mahner herein prescribed, have been applied for, and to revoke, change, or renew said appointment from time to time, two citizens, residents of said election district or voting precinct in said county or parish, who shall be of different political parties, and able to read end said county or parish, who shall be of differ-ent political parties, and able to read and write the English language, and who shall be known and designated as supervisors of elec-tion; and the said court, when opened by the said judge as reduired herein, shall, there-from and thereafter, and up to and including the day following the day of the election, be always open for the transaction of business labor and capital is generally arbitrary and superficial. The hardest working men in America to-day are capitalists, and mer-America to-day are capitainsts, and mer-chants, and manufacturers. Every man who drives a plane, or swings an axe, or uses a trowel, is a capitalist to the extent of his in-dustrial ability and skill. To all practical purposes in this country the two classes are one. There is no more pernicious nonsense uttered than the cheap, imported platitudes about the antagonism of classes which among bout the antagonism of classes which among about the antagonism of classes which among us are practically identical, with one interest and one common hope; and the men who are making a breach between employers and employes are digging the grave of the laborer's hope. Let no working man imagine for one moment that the capitalists of the country are banded against him and that his garare banded against him, and that his em loyer is his enemy, for such a thing is false

herein authorized to be appointed, except those appointed in cities or towns of twenty thousand or more inhabitants. And no person shall be appointed under this act as supervisor of election who is not at the time of his appointment a qualified voter of the county, parish, election-district, or voting-precinct for which he is appointed. And no person shall be appointed deputy marshal under the act of which this is amendatory, who is not a qualified voter, at the time of his appointment, in the county, parish, district, or precinct in which his duties are to be performed. And section thirteen of the act ployer is his enemy, for such a thing is false and preposterous.

We all stand together on common ground.
And the interest and hope of the laborer con-sist very largely in his recognition of the fact that work is not war but concord. All the great avenues of life are open to him. All the common privileges of society are his rights. The schools are for his children. The newspaper is his library. The debating club is his college. The polls are his Congress. And it only needs for him to see that by the largest and wisest possible use of his opportunities he will rise in dignity, and win respect and become a work in wayner for the policy of the congress of the congr opportunities he will rise in dignity, and win respect, and become a more important factor in the sphere to which he belongs. His hope consists in the increase of his usefulness. Multiply his productive ability or improve the quality of his work, and he enriches and grows rich. The more he identifies his interest with that of his employer, and the more brain and heart he puts into what he does, the handsomer will be his returns and the happier his lot. The tyranny of labor is the happier his lot. The tyranny of labor is just as fatal to the laborer in the long run as to the capitalist, and the demagogism which seeks to consolidate the laborers of the country into a despotism for the oppression of capitalists is of the devil. Only as the two work harmoniously together in amicable rela-tions, each studious of the other's welfare and each sacrificing somewhat for the other's 1870, shall be held to include any officer or other person having powers or duties of an official character under this act or the act to which this is an amendment: Provided, That nothing in this section shall be so construed as to authorize the appointment of any marshals or deputy marshals in addition to those heretofore authorized by law.

And provided further, That the supervisors herein provided for shall have no power or authority to make arrests or to perform other duties than to be in the immediate presence of the officers holding the elections, and to witness all their proceedings, including the counting of the votes and the making a return thereof. And so much of said sum herein appropriated as may be necessary for said and each sacrificing somewhat for the other's comfort and advantage, can either perma-nently prosper and the welfare of the nation be continually enhanced.

The majority of the strikers demanded fewers hours of work, but some of them defewers hours of work, but some of them de-mand increased pay. But it is absurd to contend that a man can do as much work in eight hours as in ten; and it is equally pre-posterous to claim that laborers generally want to clip two hours from their working day for intellectual improvement. Doubtless some of them will use the time snatched from the grip of toil for culture; others will take it for social enjoyment and needed physical relaxation. But we fear that too many will throw it utterly away in leading if they do throw it utterly away in loafing, if they do not allow it to tempt them into bad associa-tions and evil ways. The hope of the laborer consists in his making the best possible use of the time he gains. If he invests it wisely aboring men of this country need more than mything else to learn is how to use what they get, and how to save something out of their hard earnings. They imitate too often and too easily the extravagant ways of peo-ple with incomes five times greater than their own. This is why the German grows rich where the American laborer merely contrives to keep soul and boly together. To several to keep soul and body together. To spend well is as important as to earn much. And the hope of our laborers in the future will

consist more in the saving than in the getting. The standing complaint of American work-manship is its inferior quality. It wants more skill and patience, and a finer and more more skill and patience, and a finer and more careful habit, to bring it up to the highest standard. It takes something more than fingers to do anything well. The hope of the laborer is in putting more thought and more love into his doing. His work wears because it wants the lubricating oil of a nobler mood to prevent the friction of his faculties. It is the fact that he is not a machine but a soul that yindicate itself continually when soul that vindicates itself continually when man consents to be a mere drudge for pay. It is the heart that gives dignity and cunning to the hand and what it does, and heart-work never tires, and is always fine. It is no fewer hours of work, but more of this recog nition of the identity of classes and interest and more thought, and thrift, and love, tha are the laborer's hope. And eight hours of honest, hearty, whole-souled work will be better and more profitable for the employer than ten or twelve hours of heartless droning

Letter of Capt. Hugo Eichholtz, of Wash

The subjoined letter has been furnished for ablication. It shows the drift of German entiment as regards the issues involved in

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 22, 1872. b —, Adjutant German Veteran Union:
DEAR COMRADE—I cheerfully, and without any hesitation whatever, comply with

the request expressed in your recent commu-nication, asking me to give you my opinion in regard to the present political situation. I do so unreservedly. Notwithstanding that I am by no means a politician—never having paid particular attention to politics, and be-ing physically prevented from attending meetings of that kind—I take sufficient in-terest in public affairs.

erest in public affairs.

Ever since I have become a citizen of the United States I have always faithfully adbered to the Republican party, because I consider this party as standing aloof from all corruption and trickey, and I only the more adhere to it because I believe it to be the only party which reognizes the right and suffrages of all men in a most liberal spirit. surfages of all men a a most negral sprit.

Since the close of the war, and since my honorable discharge from the army my faith in
the Republican part; has been increasing,
and it had been a source of much gratification
and pride to me to have found, until recently,
on the rolls of that ghrious party the names
of the most respected and honored Germans
in this country.

in this country.

Without doubt it has been a matter of great and unexpected surprise to all of us Germans to see Carl schurz, who, in numer ous speeches had waned us from a coalition with the Democratic party, join the Democratic party, join thesame now with flying colors, and the cry "Anybody to beat Grant." Although the Cincinnati humbing may prove damaging to the Germans, yet we can hardly show any compassion with Sensition. inay prove damaging tothe Germans, yet we can hardly show any coppassion with Senator Carl Schurz's grand flasco. If Schurz really is the shrewd man he is taken for he certainly ought to possess enough statesmanship to know that the Liberal Republican party, without the undvided support of the Democracy, must prove a grand absurdity, and that, if such a coalition would take place, the Liberal Republican party, in case of victory, would be entirely absorbed by the Democratic party, which never will give up Democratic party, which never will give up its institutions, fraud, corruption, and knownothingism. In what position would Senator Carl Schurz place himself, then? Undoubtedly, Schurz is a very gifted orator, but that he possesses a much superior education to that of hundreds of other Germans in this country or that he is a great statemen may country, or that he is a great statesman, may well be doubted, if we are to judge by his ac-tion in Cincinnati. I can hardly think it credible that Carl Schurz is conceited enough to think that German voters would follow him him head over heels at his pleasure. We are certainly too cautious to act thus hastily. Were it not entirely too absurd and ridicu lous to assume that the Germans would cast their vote for Horace Greeley, fanatic temperance man, associated with Gratz Brown, an anti-temperance man, assuredly only as a warning example, one would almost be tempted to believe, considering the views of the high tariff man, that -Carl Schurz had intended to place a very bad yoke upon us. The lesson that will be taught Senator Carl Schurz, in consequence of his fiasco, will prove beneficial to him. To me Carl Schurz appears to act like the fisherman Dudeldei in Grimm's legend, who perance man, associated with Gratz Brown, fisherman Dudeldei in Grimm's legend, who having advanced from his low position so high as to become the Pope, not being satistied yet, wanted to become the Supreme Being himself, but for his insatiable thirst for greatness was hurled back into nothingness. So it is with Carl Schurz, who has been treated like a spoiled child since he put his feet on this hospitable soil. Credited with the liberation of Kinkel, although he had been only a mediator, and had never troubled himself about the imprisoned patriots, he ar-rived in this country at the very fortunate period of the anti-slavery movement, and ever since that time had every whim of his satisfied. He was made Embe It seems to me that Senator Schurz's great est fault is too much ambition and self-conceit, which, no doubt, induced him to accept the Presidency of the Cincinnati Convention, thus tying his hands. Had he declined the acceptance of that office, owing to his in-fluence, a nomination would have been made that might have proved to the Republican

party a dangerous one, but assuredly not a highly ridiculous one as has been made, "Externation of the carpet-baggers" was his watchword, and yet he presided over the very worst of them, permitting them even to lead him by the nose worse than ever has been done to the State of Georgia by Bullock.

The German Veterans must stand faithfully and unfalteringly by the Republican party, to which we owe everything that has been done for our crippled and able comrades. "Straightforward and not falter" should be

and we must not desert it.

Is Grant the Republican party, or can
Grant alone be reasonably held responsible
for the corruption of officials appointed by
him? Is even the party responsible for it? him? Is even the party responsible for it? I say no, and every sensible observer will say so too. As long as the integrity, faith-fulness, and fitness of Grant cannot be ques-tioned, he is the only man who can now again, like at Appointox Court House, lead

is to victory. "We will fight it out on this line."

Unworthy.

not allow it to tempt them into bad associations and evil ways. The hope of the laborer consists in his making the best possible use diously misrepresented the motives, objects, of the time he gains. If he invests it wisely for his own improvement and the benefit of his family, it will be a blessing to him and them; if he squanders it in idleness and dissipation it will be a curse. The laborer should have all that he earns; but the one thing the proposition is will be a curse. The laborer should have all that he earns; but the one thing the scattered hosts of have all that he earns; but the one thing the scattered hosts of hose who are unselfishly striving to unite he scattered hosts of hose who are unselfishly striving to unite he scattered hosts of hose who are unselfishly striving to unite he scattered hosts of hose who are unselfishly striving to unite he scattered hosts of hose who are unselfishly striving to unite he scattered hosts of hose who are unselfishly striving to unite he scattered hosts of our party, it has held up to derision the proposition to the members of the two wings of the Republican party. It has students and purposes of the members of the two wings of the Republican party. It has students have all that the carner than the carner that the motives, objects, and purposes of the members of the two wings of the Republican party. It has students have a proposition to the members of the two wings of the Republican party. It has students have a proposition to the members of the two wings of the Republican party. It has students have a proposition to the members of the two wings of the Republican party. It has students have a proposition to the members of the two wings of the Republican party. It has students have a proposition to the members of the two wings of the Republican party. It has the diously misrepresented the motives, objects, and purposes of the members of the convention in proposing to direct a reconciliation. our party, it has held up to derision the proposition to co for, on equal and honorable terms, and advised that no compromise be entertained. The effect of such counsel, this paper must know, teds inevitably to insure Republican defeat is November. The veriest tyro in politics is aware that in the present disintegrated andition of the party neither wing possesses sufficient numbers to to elect a ticket over the Democracy. It is also well known that if our permanent disminion can be insued the Democratic and Reform (?) elements will unite and triumphour party, it has held u to derision the pro-position to co 'cr, on equal and honorable terms, and advised that no compromise be entertained. The efect of such counsel, this paper must know, tods inevitably to insure Republican defeat in November. The ver-iest tyro in politics is aware that in the pres-ent disintegrated condition of the party neither wing possesses sufficient numbers to to elect a ticket over the Democracy. It is Reform (?) elements will unite and triumphantly march over the ground. The conven-tions of the two alove named parties have sufficiently indicated a lack of inclination to freely co-operate with any description of Retreety co-operate was any description of Re-publicans on equal gruns. It is claimed that those bodies represent the wealth, intelli-gence, and honesty of the State, and, with one or two remarkable exceptions, are com-posed of our Caucasan friends. If these claims are correct, and these indi-

If these claims are correct, and these indi-cations true, Republicans cannot certainly rationally entertain the remotest idea of co-operation with either of these parties except at the sacrifice of some of the essential prin-ciples and doctrines of our party, and to the great detriment of the peace and progress of the great bulk of our people.

In this aspect of affairs is it not wicked and reckless for any man or set of man for the

In this aspect of affairs is it not wicked and reckless for any man or set of men, for the gratification of any selfish purposes, to provoke and encourage dissensions and strife, when it is known that they must lead to defeat and overthrow? It is encouraging, however, for us to reflect that such counsel is not heeded to any extent. Those most deeply interested in the perpetuity of the party of equal rights and exact justice to all have been roused from their lethargy, and party leaders will find in the not distant conventions that their wills will not be the law of those bodies, but that the people through their representatives assembled, will assume the control of affairs and inaugurate a policy and nominate but that the people through their representa-tives assembled, will assume the control of affairs and inaugurate a policy and nominate a ticket that will meet the approbation of the entire Republican party, effect reconciliation, and give promise of success as far as such agencies can accomplish it,—Louisianian.

[From the New York Times, May 16th.]

A SAFE COUNSELOR. How Horace Greeley would Have "Saved the Union" Between

1860 and 1864.

We generally form an idea of a man's fitness to give advice in seasons of emergency by the judgment he has displayed on previous critical occasions. Test Mr. Greeley by this standard, and who would be rash enough to intrust the work of government to his hands? What would have happened to us in 1860 if Mr. Greeley's counsel had been adopted may Mr. Greeley's counsel had been adopted may be gathered from his own published works at that time, a portion of which we print below. We commend the following literal quotations, which have no little historical value, to the

calm consideration of our readers : [From the Tribune, November 9, 1860.

STATE SECESSION FULLY VINDICATED. And now, if the cotton States consider the value of the Union debatable, we maintain their perfect right to discuss it. Nay, we hold with Jefferson to the inalienable right to communities to alter or abolish forms of government that have become oppressive or injurious; and, if the cotton States should decide that they can do better contribute of the cide that they can do better outside of the Union than in it, we insist in letting them go in peace. The right to secode may be a revolutionary one, but it exists, nevertheless and we do not see how one party can have a right to do what another party has a right to prevent. We must ever resist the asserted prevent. We must ever resist the asserted right of any State to remain in the Umon, and nullify or defy the laws thereof; to with-draw from the Union is quite another matter. And, whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in. We hope never to live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to the

sidue by bayonets.
But, while we thus uphold the practical iberty, if not the abstract right of we must insist that the step be taken, if it ever shall be, with the deliberation and gravity befitting so momentous a issue. Let ample time be given for reflection; let the subject be fully canvassed before the people; and let a popular vote be taken in every case, before secession is decreed. Let the people be told just why they are about to break up the confederation; let them have both sides of the question fully presented, let them. of the question fully presented; let them re-flect, deliberate, then vote; and let the act of secession be the echo of an unmistakable popular flat. A judgment thus rendered, a demand for separation so backed, would either be acquiesced in without the effusion of blood, or those who rushed upon carnage to defe and defeat it would place themselves to defy and defeat it, would place the clearly in the wrong.

[From the Tribune, December 13, 1860.] THE SOUTHERN STATES HAD AS MUCH RIGHT TO LEAVE THE UNION AS THE COLONIES HAD TO REVOLT IN 1776—THE ABGUMENT USED BY SOME BRITISH STATESMEN IN 1861–62.

We have repeatedly asked those who dis-ent from our view of this matter to tell us frankly whether they do or do not assent to Mr. Jefferson's statement in the Declaration of Independence, that Governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the government becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new Governabolish it, and to institute a new Govern-ment," &c., &c. We do heartily accept this doctrine, believing it intrinsically sound, beneficent, and one that, universally ac-cepted, is calculated to prevent the shedding of seas of human blood. And if it justified the secession from the British Empire of three millions of colonists in 1776, we do not see millions of colonists in 1776, we do not see why it would not justify the secession of five illions of Southerners from the Federal minons of Southerners from the Federal Union in 1861. If we are mistaken on this point, why does not some one attempt to show wherein and why? For our own part, while we deny the right of slaveholders to hold slaves against the will of the latter, we cannot see how twenty millions of people can rightfully hold ten, or even five, in a detested union with them, by military force.

union with them, by military force.

Of course, we understand that the principle of Jefferson, like any other broad generdization, may be pushed to extreme and baleful consequences. We can see why Governor's Island should not be at liberty to secede from the State and nation and British batteries commanding and threatening our city. There is hardly a great principle which may not be thus "run into the ground." But if seven or eight contiguous States shall present themselves authentically at Washington, saving. "Wa hate the Principle with the vote of any member, either for or against him. at Washington, saying, "We hate the Federal Union; we have withdrawn from it; we give you the choice between acquiescing in our secession and arranging amicably all in-cidental questions on the one hand, and attempting to subdue us on the other"—we could not stand up for coercion, for subjugation, for we do not thank it would be just. We hold the right of self-government sacred, even when invoked in behalf of those who eny it to others. So much for the question

of principle.

Now as to the matter of policy: South Carolina will certainly seede. Several other cotton States will probably follow her example. The border States are evi-The custom-house organ, since the adjournment of the Republican Convention of May 28 to meet at Baion Rouge on June 19, has been industriously engaged in perpetuating and intensifying the disagreements and animosities between the members of the two wings of the Republican party. It has studiously misrepresented the motives, objects, and purposes of the mabers of the convention in proposing to diect a reconciliation. It has endeavored to directiate the characters and the labors of flose who are unselthan all, it has lost by the canvass of 1860. We want to obviate this. We would expose the seceders to odium as disunionists

fully his predecessor may have defied them. We fear that Southern madness may precipitate a bloody collision that all must deplore. But if ever "seven or eight States" send agents to Washington to say, "We want to go out of the Union," we shall feel constrained by our devotion to human liberty to say, Let them go! And we do not see how we could take the other side without coming in direct conflict with those rights of man which we held paramount to all political arrangements, however convenient and advantageous.

NO RIGHT TO COERCE SOUTHERN STATES Most certainly we believe that govern ments are made for peoples, not peoples for governments, that the latter "derive their just power from the consent of the gov-erned," and whenever a portion of this Union, from you," we shall say—and we trust self-respect, if not regard for the principle of self-government, will constrain the residue of the American people to say—"Go?" We never yet had so poor an opinion of ourselves or our neighbors as to wish to hold others in a shated connection with us. But the dissolution of a government cannot be effected in the time required for knocking down a house of cards. Let the cotton States, or any six or more States, say unequivocally, "We want to get out of the Union," and propose to effect their end peaceably and inoffensively, and we will do our best to help them outnot that we want them to go, but that we loathe the idea of compelling them to stay.

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All we ask is, that they exercise a reasonable patience, so as to give time for effecting their end without bloodshed. They must know, as well as we do, that no President can recognize a mere State ordinance of seces cognize a mere State ordinance of secession, nor neglect to enforce the laws of the United States throughout their whole geographical extent. It takes two to make a bargain, whether of admission or secession; but with reasonable forbearance all may be brought

From the Tribune of 23d of February, 1861, five days after the "Inanguration" of Jeff. Days, 1

THE MORAL RIGHT OF SECESSION. We have repeatedly said, and we once more insist that the great principle embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of American Independence, that Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, sound and just; and that if the slav States, the cotton States, or the Gulf States States, the cotton States, or the Gulf States only choose to form an independent nation, they have a clear moral right to do so. We have said, and still maintain, that provided the cotton States have fully and definitely made up their minds to go by themselves, there is no need of fighting about it; for they only have to exercise reasonable patience, and they will be let off in peace and good will. Whenever it shall become clear that the great body of the Southern people have the great body of the Southern people have become conclusively alienated from the Union, and anxious to escape from it, we will do our best to forward their views,

MR, GREELEY IN 1862. In a letter to H. McChesney, of Troy, New York, dated September 23, 1862, and pub-lished in the New York *Tribune* of the 26th of the same month, Horace Greeley, speaking of the right of secession, thus declared him-

self:
**But I still insist that, if it had been proved that the people of the slave States—or even of the cotton States alone—lad really desired to dissolve the Union, and had peacefully, deliberately, and authoritatively expressed that wish, we should have assented to it. At all events, I should."

The above quotations may doubtless help Mr. Greeley's cause to-day in the Southern States and with the "Bourbon Democrats, States and with the "Bourbon Democrats, whose alliance he is courting, and therefore he may thank us for republishing them. But what can the bulk of the people, the thrifty, industrious classes, who dread seeing the country thrown into fresh convulsions, think of the proposal to elect as President a man who would have destroyed the Union in 1860, and would unquestionably bring upon it irretrievable disasters by his present bar-gaining with the Democrats?

The Charges Against Senator Pomeroy.

Report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The following is the report of the Commit-The following is the report of the Commit-tee on Privileges and Elections as submitted ing on the wall. If it is Horace Greeley's to the Senate by Senator Logan on the charges against Senator Pomeroy of bribery and corruption in securing his election:

1. That it appears from the evidence that two United States Senators were elected by the Kansas Legislature in 1867, Mr. S. C. Pomeroy for a full term of six years, and Mr. Ross for an unexpired term of four years from the 4th day of March, 1867; that the candidate of M. Pomeroy was generally understand the same of t dacy of Mr. Pomeroy was generally under-stood by the people of Kansas during the election of members of the Legislature who were to elect Senators for the State of Kansas, and that the election of Mr. Pomeroy as one of those Senators was generally con-ceded; that all candidates against Mr. Pomceded; that all candidates against Mr. Pomeroy, for the long term, withdrew from the contest, save Mr. A. L. Lee. Mr. Pomeroy, in joint convention of the two Houses of the Legislature, received eighty-four votes; Mr. Lee received twenty-five votes; the disparity of votes being so great as to preclude of itself the idea that the election of Mr. Pomeroy, against the will of the constituents of those who voted for him, was procured by corrupt means.

2. There is no evidence that Mr. Pomerov. or any one for him, used any money or other valuable thing to influence any vote in his favor, or in any manner to bring about his election, except hearsay, and this is plainly contradicted by the direct testimony of the parties either of whom or by whom it is al-

eged such considerations were given.

3. The evidence that Mr. Pomeroy erov's can-

ber, either for or against him.

4. The evidence shows that some of the friends of Mr. Pomeroy have been appointed to office under the Government of the United States, but fails to show that they were appointed in consideration of any vote or any influence used by them in procuring the election of Mr. Pomeroy; and your committee beg leave to say that they can find no fault with Mr. Pomeroy, or any one else, (when they recommend for appointment to office,) that they recommend their friends instead of their enemies.

eir enemies.
5. It appears from the evidence that Mr. o. It appears from the evidence that Mr. Pomeroy engaged, for a compensation to be made, the services of the Lawrence State Journal to advance the interests of the Republican candidates and the Republican party in the State of Kansas in the year 1866; but it also appears that said Journal broke its engagement, and supported the Conservative or Depreceptic ticket mocratic ticket

Your committee, therefore, after maturely Your committee, therefore, after maturely considering the testimony adduced before them, are clearly of the opinion that the charges of bribery and corruption against S. C. Pomeroy, connected with his Senatorial election by the Kansas Legislature in 1867, totally fail to be sustained by any competent proof, but seem to have been urged for some purpose unknown to your committee, beyond that of correcting existing evils. Your committee, therefore, beg to be discharged from the further consideration of the same.

O. P. MORTON,

B. F. RICE, JOHN A. LOGAN, H. B. ANTHONY, MATT. H. CARPENTER,

We concur with the other members of the committee in the finding that there is no evidence before us sufficient to show that Mr. Pomeroy's election was procured by the use of corrupt means, and having no definite, respectively. nformation leading to the conclusion that further investigation would develop such evidence, we concur in the recommendation that the committee be discharged from the that the committee be discharged from the further consideration of the subject. Here we think that our duty ends. We do not think it proper to impugn the motives of those who urged this investigation. The subject was brought to the notice of the Senate by the General Assembly of Kansas, and, as it seems to us, a proper respect for that body precludes an imputation of improper motives. We cannot, therefore, concur in the last paragraph of the report. And there are other passages that do not meet our approval. For these reasons we have preferred to state our views in our own language. For these reasons we have a superson our views in our own language.
A. G. THURMAN,
JOSHUA HILL.

RATES OF ADVERTISING.

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NEWS CLIPPINGS.

-And now John Morrissey offers to bet on Horace Greeley's election. It may not be generally known that John is a gambler, and at Horace is no better-never bet in his ife, he says.

-Rev. Mr. Carter writes from Buenos Ayres that everything is done there on horseback. Even the beggars ride through the streets, knock at the doors without dismounting, and wait, still mounted, to receive charity.

-The tanning and manfacturing business —The tanning and manufacturing business this season will be unusually profitable. Grant will tan the bides of the enemies of equal rights, and Wilson will make them up into shoes for liberty's vanguard.

The members of the Agricultural Con-gress recently held in St. Louis had the oleasure of eating bread made from flour that cost \$250 a barrel. It was the first that arrived in the St. Louis market—hence its -Risso mentions an orange tree growing

at Nice, in 1789, which was more than fifty feet high and the trunk of so large a girth that it required two men, with outstretched arms to embrace it. The tree usually bore 5,000 to 6,000 oranges. -Mr. Gerrit Smith has given sufficient noney to build a new and handsome monu-

ment above the grave of Dr. Azel Backus, the first President of Hamilton College, at Clinton, N. Y. President Backus died in 1816, at the age of 52 years. -The new "Cardiff giant" man has con

grief, having been arrested in Dover, N. H., and bound over in \$800 to appear at the next September court for obtaining money under false pretenses, by showing the so-called pet-rifaction as a genuine article.

—A Louisville paper says that a snake, five feet long, was killed near that city a few days ago. Two protuberances, resembling feet or hoofs, were attached to its body. It was probably a copperhead in the first stage of Liberal Republican development. -- Eldridge, M. C. from Wisconsin, having

been requested to stump his district for Gree-ley, replied: "Why, I'd just as lief announce to my constituents that I was coming out there with twenty tom-cats and a dozen mon keys and two elephants for a big show," -The Boston Transcript asks: "Is this ontroversy about Mount Vernon an adver-

ising ruse to get the American people down

there as an investigating committee of the whole and collect from them a large income? And shall we see that little hatchet when we get there.' --The Louisville Courier can't spoil a joke for friendship's sake; which is the reason for its remark that "The Cincinnati Times

handwriting we don't know where he is going to find a Daniel that can read it." -The New York Sun's correspondent John

-- The Swiss Times says that a large watch and clock manufacturer of Neufchatel has set the example of participation of profits with his workmen. A regular account is opened with each man, and his book is made up annually, four per cent. being added by the employer to the amount due to be paid as interest on the capital for one year.

-A Bohemian who imitated the hand-—A Boneman who inflated the industring of Eugene Sue, the novelist very skillfully, was arrested recently in Paris on a charge of having sold to a bookseller a spurious manuscript of an unpublished novel by that author. In his room imitations of the handwriting of Voltaire, Alfred de Vigny, and other eminent writers were found.

-Charlotte Cushman, Bret Harte, Fanny Fern, Governor Hoffman, Colonel Jerome Bonaparte, ex-Governor Burnside, Sir Edward Thornton, the English ambassador, August Belmont, Count Corti, the Italian ambassador, William B. Travers, the banker, will be append the most parted and it. will be among the most noted and dis-tinguished people who will summer at New-

-In 1860, when the tariff was simple, the Democratic party required \$6.25 to collect every \$100 of customs duty. In 1871, when the tariff was relatively very the Republican party collected these duties at the rate of \$3.11 for every \$100. The Democrats now ask for control of the Government on the ground that they can manage

-The wife and two daughters of Horace Greeley are in London. Mrs. G. is a con-firmed invalid; the two daughters—Ida and Gabrielle—are quite charming and pretty, and are much admired. A considerable sensa-tion was produced at a large, fashionable party there, the other evening, when it became rumored that a daughter of Mr. H. G. was in the room, and she (Ida) was speedily sought out by the lions present.

-Senator Clayton has written a letter ac--Senator Caybon has written a letter ac-knowledging with gratitude his election as Chairman of the Republican *State Central Committee of Arkansas, and concluding as follows: "As we have reached high vantage ground and have routed the foes, we should proceed to camp and fortify. Let the enemy bury their dead and carry off their wounded. Thank God, we have none. I see victory already perched on our banners. We are uni-

-Of course you remember Isaiah Rynders —Of course you remember Isaiah Rynders. In his palmy days he was chief of the Tammany shoulder-hitters, generalissimo of the Mackerelville boys, and one of the mildestmannered men that ever c—leaned out an intractable ward meeting or organized the "outside pressure" for a convention. Well, Isaiah has followed the example of lots of other perturbed spirits of the same era, crawled out of his hole, and is rattling his skeleton enthusiastically for Greeley.

-All kindly hearts will sympathize with Mr. Frederick Douglass and his family in the loss of his pretty house at Rochester, N. the loss of his pretty house at Rochester, N.
Y., by fire. It was a cozy cottage a little
way out of the city, with tasteful grounds
and out buildings—the fruit of many years of
toil. We remember it well, from a winter
day's sojourn at its fireside. The whole
place—fences, trees, and shrubbery—has now
been laid waste. An incendiary did the mischief. W. Downless was not residing in the been laid waste. An incendary did the mis-chief. Mr. Douglass was not residing in the house, for, since he established his newspa-per in Washington, he has kept his family in that city, leaving his son-in-law to occupy the Rochester property. Thousands of people will exchange with each other a sympathetic comment on this calamity to a noble man.— Theodore Tilton in the Golden Age.

-The Tribune lately undertook to give a list of the prominent delegates to Philadelphia, now or recently holding official position, the object being to sustain the charge that the Convention was made up of Federal office-holders. The list includes eighty-five men, of whom four only hold appointments under the Federal Government, one as District Judge, one as Marshal, one as Postmaster, one as member of the Civil Service Board. The rest are, or have been, members of the House of Representatives, United States Senators, State officers, or Mayors, but are and have been in provise indebted to Gen. Grant have been in nowise indebted to Gen. Grant for their positions. This presents a very simple "example" in the rule of three; As four are to eighty-one, so are the truths in the *Tribune* to the falsehoods, which is independent journalism "cip point," as Mr. Greeley